

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4631

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TRIPOLI 1026

EXDIS

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, LY, US, PINT
SUBJ: LIBYA-US: MEETING WITH SECRETARY VANCE

1. SUMMARY. LIBYAN FOREIGN SECRETARY TURAYKI INDICATES CONTINUING INTEREST IN DIALOGUE WITH US AND ASKS THAT MESSAGE BE CONVEYED TO SECRETARY FANCE. TURAYKI CLAIMED US POLICY TOWARD LIBYA SHAPED BY COUNTRIES HOSTILE TOPYIBYA AND THAT ONLY THROUGH DIRECT DIALOGUE COULD MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BE ACHIEVED. LIBYA TRULY NON-ALIGNED AND INTENDS TO REMAIN SO. SPREAD OF COMMUNISM IN ARAB AND AFRICAN WORLD IS ANATHEMA TO LIBYA. LIBYA NOT OPPOSED TO US PEACE INITIATIVES IN MIDDLE EAST BUT HAS NEVER BEEN INFORMED AT APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF SUBSTANCE OF SUCH INITIATIVES. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING MY NOTIFICATION TO FONOFF ACTING UNDER-SECRETARY HUSNI SH'ABAN THAT I WOULD BE TRAVELLING TO AMMAN TO MEET SECRETARY VANCE I WAS SUMMONED BACK TO FONOFF AUGUST 3 BY FOREIGN SECRETARY DR. ALI TURAYKI. TURAYKI SAID HE WANTED TO TALK TO ME PRIOR TO MY JOURNEY TO AMMAN IN ORDER TO MAKE LIBYA'S POSITION CLEAR AND CHARGED ME TO CONVEY HIS MESSAGE TO SECRETARY VANCE. HE REQUESTED ME TO ALSO CONVEY
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HIS PERSONAL GREETINGS TO SECRETARY.

3. TURAYKI OBSERVED THAT LIBYA HAD BEEN OPTIMISTIC AS NEW ADMINISTRATION ASSUMED OFFICE BECAUSE OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECLARED DEDICATION TO RELIGIOUS VALUES AND HUMAN RIGHTS. HE OBSERVED THAT LIBYA AND THE US HAD THIS IN COMMON SINCE THE LIBYAN

REVOLUTION WAS BASED ON DEEP RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL VALUES. EVEN BEFORE CARTER ADMINISTRATION LIBYA HAD HOPED FOR MORE NORMAL RELATIONS WITH US. UGNORTUNATELY, THE US HAD NEVER RESPONDED TO PREVIOUS OVERTURES.(4

4. DR. TURAYKI BELIEVED THE US POSITION TOWRAD LIBYA WAS BEING SHAPED BY PARTIES HOSTILE TO LIBYA. THIS WAS ASTONISHING BECAUSE THE US AS A SUPERPOWER SHOULD BASE ITS POLICIES ON CORRECT AND PRECISE INFORMATION. HE SAID THAT ONLY THROUGH A DIRECT DIALOGUE AND DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, WITHOUT THE INFLUENCE OF OUTSIDE PARTIES, COULD MUTUAL AND BENEFICIAL UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BE ACHIEVED. THIS, HE SAID, IS THE MISSING LINK IN RELATIONS BETWEEN LIBYA AND THE US.

5. LIBYA, HE SAID, HAS ITS OWN POLICY AS DOES THE US. CLEARLY AT TIMES THESE POLICIES IDFFER. THIS, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT PREVENT THEM FROM RESPECTING EACH OTHER'S VIEWPOINT. LIBYA, HE ADDED, IS PREPARED TO RESPECT US VIEWS EVEN THOUGH IT DIS-AGREES WITH THEM. RECIPROCALLY THE US SHOULD ACCORD THE SAME RESPECT TO LIBYAN VIEWS. SUCH DIFFERENCES SHOULD NOT PREVENT AN ONGOING DIALOGUE HOWEVER.

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6. ON QUESTION OF MIDDLE EAST, LIBYA AND THE US HAVE APPARENT DIFFERENT VIEWS ON HOW TO APPROACH IT. HOWEVER, LIBYA HAS NEVER TRULY BEEN CONSULTED BY THE US ON US PLANS FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. DR. TURAYKI SAID HE HAD SPOKEN TO SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASAD, KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN AND PRINCE SA'UD OF SAUDI ARABIA SINCE THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT CARTER. FROM THEM HE GAINED IMPRESSION THAT US PLANS FOR MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT ARE STILL NOT FIRM AND THAT THE US ADMINISTRATION IS STILL IN THE EXPLORATORY STAGE. HE SAID THAT TO CHARACTERIZE LIBYA AS REJECTIONIST IS INACCURATE SINCE LIBYA HAS NOTHING TO REJECT BEING UNAWARE OF US PLANS. TURAYKI OBSERVED THAT DURING THE AFRICAN SUMMIT IN LIBREVILLE HE HAD TALKED TO UN SECGEN WALDHEIM WHO ALSO TOLD HIM A DEFINITE FORMULA FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT HAD NOT YET EMERGED. TURAYKI ADDED THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL (READ BEGIN ELECTION) ADDED NEW DIFFICULTIES TO ANY TYPE OF SETTLEMENT. IN ANY EVENT, HE EMPHASIZED, LIBYA IS NOT AGAINST PEACE BUT WISHES TO KNOW HOW PEACE CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED. IN FACT, LIBYA IS EAGER FOR A JUST AND REAL PEACE.

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TRIPOLI 1026

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7. US ANTI-LIBYA POLICY IS BASED ON LACK OF INFORMATION ABOUT LIBYA'S REAL AIMS. LIBYA, HE ASSERTED, IS A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY AND INTENDS TO REMAIN SO. IT HAS A DEEP BELIEF IN RELIGION AND ISLAMIC SOCIALISM FREE FROM OUTSIDE INFLUENCE. LIBYA WILL NEVER BECOME A COMMUNIST STATE. IT IS AGAINST COMMUNISM PERHAPS MORE SO THAN THE US. LIBYA'S ANTI-COMMUNISM IS NOT BASED ON ITS DESIRE TO PLEASE THE US BUT ON ITS OWN PRINCIPLES. LIBYA, HE REITERATEE, WILL NEVER ACCEPT THE INFLUENCE OF AN OUTSIDE POWER. LIBYA, HE RECALLED, HAD COUNSELLED BOTH EGYPT AND IRAQ AGAINST SIGNING A FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE BELIEF THAT NO ARAB STATE SHOULD HAVE A TREATY RELATIONSHIP WITH OUTSIDE POWERS. HOWEVER, BECAUSE OF US POLICY AND ITS REFUSAL TO COOPERATE, LIBYA WAS QUITE JUSTIFIED IN SEEKING ARMS AND AIRCRAFT FROM THE SOVIET UNION WITH WHICH IT ENJOYED GOOD RELATIONS. LIBYA IS A LARGE AND RICH COUNTRY AND ENTITLED TO DEFEND ITS RESOURCES AND ITS WEALTH. THE RECENT EXAMPLE OF EGYPTIAN AGGRESSION WAS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT THIS NEED WAS JUSTIFIED. THE US, HE SAID, SHOULD REFRAIN FROM PLACING PRESSURE ON ARAB AND AFRICAN

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COUNTRIES TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS.

8. RETURNING TO LIBYA'S NON-ALIGNED STATUS, HE SAID RUMORS OF A LARGE CUBAN PRESENCE AND A SOVIET BASE WERE UNTRUE. HE CHALLENGED ME TO PRODUCE CUBANS OUTSIDE OF CUBAN EMBASSY. MOREOVER, HE SAID,

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A RUSSIAN NAVAL VISIT TO LIBYA. LIKEWISE THERE IS NO RUSSIAN CULTURAL CENTER IN TRIPOLI NOR WILL THERE BE UNLESS THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ALLOW THE LIBYANS TO OPEN A CULTURAL CENTER IN THS MUSLIM AREAS OF THE USSR.

9. TURAYKI OBSERVED THAT US-LIBYAN COMMERCIAL/ECO-NOMIC RELATIONS WERE GOOD PARTICULARLY IN PETROLEUM FIELD. ALSO MANY LIBYAN STUDENTS STUDY IN THE US. HOWEVER, REGRETFULLY THE US HAD REFUSED TO BRING POLITICAL RELATIONS UP TO AN ACCEPTABLE LEVEL. HE URGED THAT US POLICY

TOWARD LIBYA BE BASED ON A REAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE AREA. LIBYA WAS STILL OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD NOT SUPPORT REACTIONARY REGIMES SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY WERE ANTI-COMMUNIST. HE OBSERVED THAT REACTIONARY REGIMES WERE IN FACT BREEDING GROUNDS FOR SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS AND EVENTUAL COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS. LIBYA, HE REITERATED, IS AGAINST COMMUNISM AND IN THIS CONTEXT HJESURGED AFRICAN AND ARAB STATES TO AVOID MARXIST-LENINIST TYPE REGIMES. HE HOPED US POLICY TOWARD THE ARAB AND AFRICAN NATIONS WILL BE ENLIGHTENED AND AVOID PUSHING THEM TOWARD THE COMMUNISTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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10. FINALLY, TURAYKI REITERATED THAT HE WANTED SECRETARY VANCE TO KNOW THAT LIBYA DID NOT OPPOSE US PEACE INITIATIVES IN MIDDLE EAST, BUT LIBYA WOULD LIKE TO BE INFORMED ON HOW SUCH INITIATIVES COULD BRING PEACE ABOUT. LIBYA WANTS A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH THE US AND IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT DIFFERING POINTS OF VIEW. HE OBSERVED THT US CHARGE IN TRIPOLI HAD FULL ACCESS ON DEMAND TO A HIGHEST LEVEL OF LIBYAN GOVERNMENT EVEN THOUGH THE LIBYAN CHARGE IN WASHINGTON WAS NOT ACCORDED RECIPROCAL ACCESS TO US OFFICIALS. IN CLOSING HE AGAIN ASKED THAT I CONVEY HIS PERSONAL

GREETINGS TO SECRETARY VANCE.

11. TURAYKI WAS AS USUAL CORDIAL AND COURTEOUS BUT FIRM. HE MADE NO RPT NO ACCUSATIONS OF US INVOLVEMENT WITH EGYPTIANS AND NO REFERENCE TO JALLUD'S PUBLIC ALLEGATION OF US SUPPORT FOR EGYPTIANS. HE SPOKE FROM NOTES WHICH I WOULD SURELY ASSUME HAVE QADHAFI'S AUTHORITY. REASONS BEHIND TURAYKI'S RATHER EXTRAORDINARY PITCH WOULD, I SPECULATE, INCLUDE LIBYAN FEARS (DESPITE CURRENT MEDIA CLAIMS OF VICTORY) OF FUTURE EGYPTIAN ACTION AND PERHAPS REAL CONCERN OVER SOVIET AIMS IN AFRICA AND OVERDEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS AS SOURCE OF MATERIAL AND POLITICAL SUPPORT. CLEAR THOUGH THAT QADHAFI WANTS TO KEEP OPTIONS OPEN. RESPONSE, IF ANY, TO TURAYKI'S DEMARCHE (AND I BELIEVE ONE OF SOME NATURE IS IN ORDER) CAN BE FURTHER DISCUSSED DURING AMMAN MEETING. CARLE

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